

## Message Text

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SUBJ: EDITORIAL DEBATE ON FUTURE OF US-SPANISH DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS

REF: MADRID 1730

1. INTENSE PRESS COVERAGE IN RECENT WEEKS OF US-EEC DISPUTE HAS STIMULATED HEAVY EDITORIAL COMMENT IN SPANISH PRESS IN PAST TWO WEEKS ON QUESTION OF WHERE US-EUROPEAN CONTROVERSY LEAVES SPAIN.

2. NUEVO DIARIO, MADRID DAILY, WHICH REFLECTS VIEWS OF CATHOLIC ORDER OPUS DEI, CARRIED EDITORIAL MAR 26 ENTITLED, "SPAIN, EUROPE AND UNITED STATES." REPORTEDLY WRITTEN PERSONALLY BY FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER LOPEZ RODO, EDITORIAL TOOK ISSUE WITH EARLIER CONTENTIONS APPEARING INFORMACIONES (REFTEL) THAT SPAIN SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE ITS FUTURE WITH EUROPE BY COMMITTING ITSELF TOO MUCH TO US IN FORTH-COMING NEGOTIATIONS.

3. NUEVO DIARIO EDITORIAL MADE FOLLOWING KEY POINTS:  
(A) IT WOULD BE A PROFOUND ERROR FOR SPAIN TO THINK IT MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE. SPAIN'S RELATIONS WITH US AND WITH EUROPE ARE QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT MATTERS. RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS  
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IS ONE OF SOLIDARITY AND ULTIMATE INTEGRATION, AS SPAIN,

TOGETHER WITH THEM FORMS PART OF ONE GEOGRAPHIC REGION, ONE ECONOMIC AREA AND ONE CONTINENTAL MASS. RELATIONS WITH US, ON OTHER HAND, NOT REGIONAL IN NATURE BUT BILATERAL, THOUGH NO LESS IMPORTANT. FOR SPAIN, FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT OF WORLD'S GREATEST POWER ARE DECISIVE IN DEFENSE, DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC MATTERS. LINKS UNITING US AND SPAIN SINCE 1953, WHICH MUST BE DEFINED ANEW IN 1975, ARE NOT EPHEMERAL OR OCCASIONAL, BUT ARE BASED ON DEEP REALITIES OF POWER AND ON THE CONVICTION OF THE ADVANTAGE OF MUTUAL COOPERATION. (B) SECOND ERROR IS TO THINK THAT REAL ANTAGONISM CAN EXIST BETWEEN EUROPE AND US, AS THEIR DESTINIES AND THEIR HISTORIES ARE FAR TOO INTERLINKED. WHILE WE ARE NOW WITNESSING A SOMEWHAT EXAGGERATED CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THEM, TRUE INTEREST OF SPAIN IS TO MAINTAIN BALANCE OF OUR POSITION BETWEEN US AND EUROPE. WHILE SPAIN IS PART OF ATLANTIC AREA, VICISSITUDES OF HISTORY KEPT HER FROM BELONGING TO NATO. EVEN SO, IN NATO OR OUTSIDE OF IT, SPAIN MUST ALWAYS COLLABORATE LOYALLY WITH US IN MUTUAL BENEFIT AND COOPERATE WITH ITS WESTERN EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS PROGRESSIVELY BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL LINKS WITH THEM. (C) THE ALTERNATIVE, TO CHOOSE ARBITRARILY BETWEEN US AND EUROPE, COULD LEAD TO NEUTRALISM AND ISOLATION. SPAIN CANNOT BE STRONG IN THE WEST EXCEPT BY HARMONIZING ITS POLICIES WITH ALL ELEMENTS OF THE WEST. IT CANNOT BE STRONG IN THE WORLD EXCEPT FROM A POSITION AS COUNTRY HOLDING BALANCED POSITION IN WESTERN WORLD. PRINCIPAL POINT OF SPAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY MUST BE TO MAKE SPAIN'S VALUE FELT IN THE WORLD -- ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC VALUE AS WELL. SPAIN'S "SPECIFIC GRAVITY" WAS RECOGNIZED IN US-SPANISH JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 19.

4. MADRID'S CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC DAILY YA ON MARCH 29 REPLIED TO NUEVO DIARIO'S EDITORIAL IN ARTICLE ENTITLED, "FOREIGN POLICY" UNDER BY-LINE OF TACITO. "TACITO," WHICH IS A PSEUDONYM USED BY SHIFTING GROUP OF YOUNG CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC CONTRIBUTORS, OFFERED FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS:

(A) INTERNATIONAL ORDER, PARTICULARLY SPAIN'S EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN ENVIRONMENT, IS CHANGING SIGNIFICANTLY. PROSPECT OF US TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM EUROPE IS REASON ENOUGH FOR GOVERN-  
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MENT AND PUBLIC OPINION TO RAISE CERTAIN QUESTIONS, BUT EVEN MORE SO IN VIEW OF APPROACHING REVIEW OF BASES AGREEMENT WITH US. IN CONSIDERING WHETHER OR NOT TO EXTEND A BASE AGREEMENT, IT NECESSARY TO TAKE NOTE OF US INCLINATION TO LEAVE EUROPE, OPPOSITION OF US CONGRESS TO AGREEMENT, AND TO FACT THAT NATO CANNOT BE FULLY EUROPEANIZED WITHOUT SPAIN.

(B) ABSENT FROM PRESENT BASES AGREEMENT IS LANGUAGE OF

1963 JOINT DECLARATION. SINCE US HAS DELIBERATELY AVOIDED ANY COMMITMENT IN NATURE OF ALLIANCE, SPAIN MUST SEEK NEW FRAMEWORK OF DEFINITIONS AND GUARANTEES IN FUTURE RELATIONS WITH US WHICH WOULD RECOGNIZE CHANGED INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. SUCH AGREEMENT WILL BE JUSTIFIED TO EXTENT IN WHICH IT CONTRIBUTES TO SPAIN'S ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND MILITARY POTENTIAL. BUT ONE WONDERS IF SUCH OBJECTIVES ATTAINABLE IN NEW COOPERATION AGREEMENT CONTINUALLY SUBJECT TO EMNITY OF US CONGRESS. SIMILARLY ECONOMIC AID, EVEN IN DECLINE, IS SUBJECT TO EBB AND FLOW OF CONFLICT BETWEEN WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS. FOR THIS REASON ARTICLE 31 OF AFC ENVISAGES SERIES OF CIRCUMSTANCES THAT IMPAIR FULL COMPLIANCE WITH COMMITMENTS IN AGREEMENTS ITSELF. JOINT COMMUNIQUE (SIGNED BY FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER LOPEZ RODO AND KISSINGER) DECEMBER 19, 1973 DID NOT RECOGNIZE SPAIN'S NEEDS, FOR IT FAILED TO SAY THAT WASHINGTON IS RESPONSIBLE FOR SPAIN'S SECURITY, THAT SPAIN SHOULD NOT BE BARRED FROM ENTERING NATO IF SHE DESIRES, THAT US SUPPORTS OUR ENTRY INTO EEC, OR THAT IT WILL HELP TO SOLVE PROBLEM OF GIBRALTAR. SHOULD SPAIN REEL "REWARDED" IF FOREIGN PERSONAGE OFFERS IT AMIABLE BUT EMPTY PHRASES? NUEVO DIARIO SURPRISINGLY COMPLACENT IN CLAIMING THAT "SPECIFIC GRAVITY" OF SPAIN WAS RECOGNIZED IN DECEMBER US-SPANISH COMMUNIQUE.

(C) QUESTION OF SPAIN'S ULTIMATE MEMBERSHIP IN NATO CANNOT BE OVERLOOKED IN CONSIDERING CURRENT RELATIONS WITH US. MEMBERSHIP IN NATO IS OF POLITICAL INTEREST AND VITAL TO DEFENSE OF COUNTRIES, SUCH AS SPAIN, THAT CANNOT MAKE UP THEIR LACK OF NATO PARTICIPATION WITH THEIR OWN NUCLEAR DETERRENTS. EVIDENT THAT WHILE SPAIN DOES NOT ENJOY ADVANTAGES OF NATO COUNTRIES, IT CONTRIBUTES DE FACTO TO WESTERN DEFENSE WITHOUT ANY RECOGNITION. DEBATABLE THAT, AS SOMETIMES CLAIMED, SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO WOULD CAUSE UNBEARABLE IN-

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CREASE IN DEFENSE COSTS. GREECE, TURKEY, AND PORTUGAL ARE NATO MEMBERS EVEN THOUGH ECONOMIC POWER BELOW THAT OF SPAIN. MOREOVER SPANISH DEFENSE INVESTMENTS ARE INCREASING IN ANY EVENT, WITH OR WITHOUT NATO MEMBERSHIP.

(D) FINALLY CLOSELY RELATED PROBLEM IS THAT OF GIBRALTAR. SPAIN MUST ASSERT WITH URGENCY THE INADMISSABILITY OF A FOREIGN BASE, WITHOUT ITS CONSENT, ON INTEGRAL PART OF ITS TERRITORY. RIVERO

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